

spirit. There is documentary evidence to the contrary. It is on record that the Convention refused to adopt a proposed clause providing for the condition of fugitive slaves, but afterwards adopted, without debate, the existing clause respecting 'persons' (that is, apprentices and others) from whom labor was honestly due.

There is, therefore, no Constitutional obstacle to the enactment of a law by the people and State of New York for securing the blessings of liberty to all their inhabitants.

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'I am old enough to recollect the time when you did not see, and could not find a Southern Christian. They would say at once, "slavery is wrong, we know it, and want and should be glad to get rid of it; we will do anything which you will point out; we shall be happy to receive any instruction or help whatever; we wish to know anything you feel to be wrong in the sight of God." A change, I say, has come over us; slavery is now held to be right, not only in the abstract, but slavery just as it is. There must not be a hair of it touched, with all its old defence of the laws of God and man. It has been said that slavery is allowed and approved by the Son of God; that the unfeeling and heartless Saviour approves of the sin of slavery, and approves of shutting out men from the knowledge of God.'

A change, too, has come over the North. This matter has been brought home to us in a great variety of ways. The press has devoted much space to it, and facts have been continually developed which have aroused the Christian conscience of the whole Northern country. Christian men are beginning to ask—setting aside the abstract question of slavery—"Have we no duty to discharge to these our brethren and sisters in Christ? Can we see all these things without bearing testimony? Here are Christian men and women suffering oppression such as can be equalled nowhere, not even in Austria. The Madiai family were punished and sent to the galleys in Italy, for reading the word of God. The whole Christian world is aroused, and different Protestant governments have sent to beg their release. The Mortara boy was caught in Rome, and they determined to make a Papist of him, and the Christian world is all remonstrance. Here are two or three millions of enslaved men and women, and hundreds of thousands of Christian people among them; and did it not behoove us to bear testimony in behalf of these outcast children of God, and also to bear testimony to those who were oppressing them, whether they knew they were wrong or not, in accordance with the words of the Saviour? "What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in the light; and what I tell you in the ear, that speak ye upon the housetops." There was a wrong committed against our Christian brethren at the South, who in their own consciences felt this to be a grievous wrong, and they looked up to us to do the right thing upon this matter. They said, "This is clearly a wrong, and what shall we do?" If they spoke, they were persecuted, and the Christian men here said not a word, and the oppressors of the slave defended themselves by the action of the Christians at the North; they said, "We never heard of you, and you upon this matter. You do not think it wrong yourselves. Whatever we have done, you have approved of. You never gave us to understand that you believed slavery to be contrary to the Gospel." So they continued to think until they came to believe that it was the Gospel.'

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'The reason firm, the temperate will, Endurance, foresight, strength and skill— those only who have rejoiced in her sympathy and her help can fully understand the loss her death brings to them, and to the cause she loved best. It was this principle of perfect love, which not only casteth out fear, but giveth clearness of vision, as soon as it appears, and they have been busy ever since, as embodying the indubitable truth of the 'Pottawatomie Massacre.' But it is utterly unworthy of credit, and should be discarded by every honorable mind, as a malignant attempt to injure the fame of one, who, whatever in the estimation of some may have been, was a noble and true man, and the purest embodiment which the century affords of exalted self-sacrifice; and as such, dear to every friend of humanity.'

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The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 24, 1860.

EQUAL SCHOOL PRIVILEGES IN RHODE ISLAND.

It is generally well known that, in Rhode Island, for several years past, there has been carried on, through the persistent efforts of George T. Downing and others, a movement for the abolition of the colored or caste schools of that State. These now exist only in the towns of Providence, Newport and Bristol. The movement has yearly grown in favor, and it was sincerely hoped that, this year, a sense of justice on the part of the legislators would command the separate schools to disappear, as they have in this State. But not yet.

On Monday of last week, the bill for this purpose was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 30 to 23 in the House of Representatives. The vote was taken in a thin house, (some 13 members being absent,) a very unusual course. The opponents of the bill, fearing the result that might happen with full branches, immediately waived to reconsider the vote to indefinitely postpone, and then moved to lay that motion on the table, which prevailed. The whole matter was hurried through, in some instances, in violation of the rules of the House.

The entire press of the city of Providence, with all the social influence, has been against the measure. The entire legal talent (four lawyers) that spoke upon the bill, opposed it strenuously, and resorted to some very disingenuous courses in their opposition. Still, with the entire press, four lawyers, social influence, and all against the measure, and the advantage of a moment when the House was thin, the bill was not by only two majority. This was almost a triumph.

We hear that the subject may come up in another form, this session. Whether or not, we know it will another year, if our devoted and earnest friend, Geo. T. Downing, and his coadjutors, are permitted to live. North and South, and, as a means thereto, to put their names on the 'White Lists,' by which dough-faces are now trying to prostitute slaveholders.

Is it not a curious fact that slavery should be a 'controverted topic' when prayers are asked against it, and not a controverted topic when prayers are asked for it? No, it is nothing strange or unusual! The Church is accustomed to manage her ordinary business by indirections like this!

For instance: The New York Observer is very indignant against the Westminster Review for a recent article containing some disclosures in regard to revivals and revivalists. It represents this article to be dictated by hostility to the Gospel, and this representation will be considered conclusive by a majority of the Observer's readers. But the indignation of that pious journal is really excited, not merely by a general exposure, in the article in question, of that craft which it has its wealth, but by the fact that the Westminster has taken the wrong side of the 'controverted topic,' pointing out a stain on Whitefield's character, as follows:

'In the life of Whitefield we have a striking proof that revivalism is by no means conducive to clearness of mind and perception, and consistency in the highest moral conduct. In fact, as the success of revivalist preachers depends upon their addressing the feeling of fear, and therefore the most cowardly and selfish elements in man, we ought not, on reflection, to be surprised to find that the chief and most powerful of all revivalist preachers should not be distinguished by that strong sense of justice and genuine benevolence which makes the traffic in or holding of slaves, under any circumstances, hateful, and which would regard with the most intense abhorrence the introduction of slavery into a country previously free. The humane Oglethorpe, who projected the colony of Georgia as an asylum for unfortunate debtors from the intolerable penal inflictions of the British Code at that time, placed on the common seal of the corporation the cap of liberty. Slavery was not permitted in the colony. "It is," said he, "against the Gospel, as well as against the laws of humanity, to enslave men." We refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrible crime.'

Whitefield, however, when in Georgia, proposed to his travelling companion to petition to petition the trustees of the corporation to admit slavery, and also to allow the introduction of rum! He became a slave-owner, and in the year of his death there were fifty slaves, men, women and children, whom he left in his will to the Trustees of the colony. The letters subsequently written to America by this pious lady continually refer to the value and sale of the slaves which she had thus become possessed.

See Dr. Stevens's History of Methodism, vol. ii, p. 69. This incident in the life of a great and revered revivalist leader indicates that that exalted 'other-worldliness' which forms the staple of revivalist sermons, is consistent with an ethical standard far below that in which the maxim, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," is observed by injunctions appealing only to the most self-interested and least noble part of man.

The Church, almost without exception, turns her face away from truths like these, and her organs unscrupulously calumniate the men and the periodicals that give them currency. The Church is the great bulwark of slavery, and by giving 'line upon line, precept upon precept' in its favor, week after week, through innumerable pulpits, prayer-meetings, and pious periodicals, it makes good this title, and lays a foundation of corrupt public opinion upon which the profligate government of the United States can erect its superstructure. Here are some of these latest 'droppings of the sanctuary':

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1. That a man might hold a slave, and not do wrong. 2. That immediate emancipation is impossible. 3. That a slaveholder may be a good Christian. 4. That the influence of slavery is not always evil.

Then again, in reply to the inquiry of a correspondent—'What would the Board and Committee have done, if those mission churches, or their pastors, had openly avowed Unitarian sentiments?' the Congressionalist clearly says 'a vast difference between the two cases.'

Then again, the 'Young Men's Christian (!) Association' of Richmond, Virginia, withdraws its invitation to Bayard Taylor to lecture there, because of his connection with a paper which diffuses 'Abolition sentiments.'

All these things teach, most clearly and forcibly, that the abolition of slavery is an indispensable prerequisite to the true preaching of the Gospel in this country, and to the diffusion of pure morality and religion, both North and South. A spurious piety is the direct offspring of practical religion here, not less than it was among the Scribes and Pharisees in the time of Jesus.—C. K. W.

PERSONAL LIBERTY IN MINNESOTA. The following is a copy of a petition in circulation in Minnesota, and which has already received many signatures:—

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota:

The undersigned, citizens of Hennepin county, ask of your Honorable bodies to pass such a Personal Liberty Bill as shall make it a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any person to claim property in a human being within the boundaries of this State, with a view to return such person to slavery.

A full report of the proceedings of the recent Woman's Rights Convention, at Albany, N. Y. will be given in our next number.

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD THE SLAVE.

It will be remembered that, during the revival which was having its decline and fall about a year ago in Boston, the 'business men's prayer-meetings' were conspicuously placarded with the notice, 'No Controverted Topics!' This notice—understood by everybody to mean 'No Anti-Slavery'—no doubt served the incidental purpose of assuring the 'business men' in question that the sort of piety cultivated there would not interfere with their South-east trade; but this was not its chief object.

The Church counts strength mainly by numbers, and while her ministers and communicants hold 600,000 slaves in the South, she will cultivate peace with them as more important than purity; and, long before the commencement of the late 'revival,' the petition of an individual slave for prayers was refused a hearing at the Old South Chapel, in conformity with its customary policy.

These things were brought to my mind by seeing, in the regular 'Chronicles of Old South Chapel,' in the Boston Recorder, the following requests for prayer for the continuance of slavery, and the subordination of such thought, speech and action as are now directed against it:—

'Feb. 10. At the Noon Prayer Meeting, the following requests were read before our National Government. These had been previously communicated to the Fulton Street Meeting:—

That God may save this nation from rash conclusions, and may preserve the Union of these States, a precious legacy for future generations. The hope of our Union is now alone in the overruling providence of God. "A VIRGINIAN."

The following was from the North:—

'The brethren of this prayer meeting are desired to cry mightily to God, not only in this meeting, but in their closets also, in behalf of our distracted country; that he will of his infinite mercy pour out upon the troubled waters, restore love and affection, and pour out his Holy Spirit upon our whole country, East, West, North and South.'

These requests were, no doubt, responded to by fervent and repeated prayers, which were probably 'effective,' also, in encouraging the 'business men' present to hope for a restoration of confidence between North and South, and, as a means thereto, to put their names on the 'White Lists,' by which dough-faces are now trying to prostitute slaveholders.

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PERSONAL LIBERTY IN MINNESOTA. The following is a copy of a petition in circulation in Minnesota, and which has already received many signatures:—

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota:

The undersigned, citizens of Hennepin county, ask of your Honorable bodies to pass such a Personal Liberty Bill as shall make it a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any person to claim property in a human being within the boundaries of this State, with a view to return such person to slavery.

A full report of the proceedings of the recent Woman's Rights Convention, at Albany, N. Y. will be given in our next number.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS.

An article in the Boston Courier, (signed N. Y.), affirms that the Constitution of the United States guarantees and secures freedom of speech and of the press in this country only so far as any act of Congress is concerned, but does not secure these against State legislation. He further affirms that in the Constitution of South Carolina, there is no provision for freedom of speech or of the press; that the Legislature of that State may enact laws regulating speech, printing and writing, as it pleases; that such laws will be Constitutional; and that if a Northern man is punished there for such freedom of speech, or writing, or printing, as he might properly exercise at home, none of his Constitutional rights will have been violated, and he will have no remedy!

I have been accustomed to suppose that a citizen of Massachusetts had a Constitutional right to freedom of speech in every part of the United States. If I had been called upon for evidence from the Constitution, I should have quoted the Preamble, which declares that instrument to have been formed 'to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity'—and

AMERICA.

and that it is the right and duty to kill on the spot any man caught in the act of holding, hunting, selling, buying and working slaves. So the North has, or will soon have, but one word to the slave—i. e., "No obligations and no duties to your enslavers." Never work another hour, never obey another command, as a slave, but assert and maintain your freedom, at all hazards.

Yours,
HENRY C. WRIGHT.

FOSTER'S CROSSINGS, WARREN CO., OHIO,
February 18, 1860.

BROTHER GARRISON:

Before this reaches you, you will have noticed the desperate efforts of the dastardly politicians in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, to keep up the fight against liberty, and keep down the millions of their victims. Ohio invited Kentucky and Tennessee to come over and receive assurances of good faith in keeping a bad contract—a contract which is essentially a conspiracy against freedom—treason against man and nature. The legislators left their business and came, and things were done worthy the purpose. The papers here helped on the shameful work, and gloried in it. I sent the following protest and rebuke to the Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*; but it was not allowed to appear.

O. S. MURRAY.

For the Cincinnati *Commercial*.

A RAID ON FREEDOM—THE "IRREPRESSIBLE" JOHN BROWN.

Let me take the wind out of that sail. Let me prick that bubble. Let me turn off that gas, and stop the steam. Let me disperse that fog. Let me see the smoke. Let me spoil that pageant. It will take but a few short words, in brief sentences and compressed paragraphs.

What, then, signifies all this sound and fury?—this roar of cannon?—this rioting and excess?—this bacchanalian reveling, from transient legislators to the governors and their hosts? What, but that it is to down the dying words of a single man, devoted to freedom and sacrificed to slavery?—to protect a damnable, demoralizing compromise?—to splice ropes of sand?—to reconcile deadly antagonisms?—to put off an "impending crisis," that cannot be avoided nor evaded; and whose consequences increase in fearful-ness with every moment of delay?—to smother in-ternal, infernal fires, that rage all the more, the more they are smothered; and that, if the folly be per-petrated, in all one day burst forth, and spread their devastating rays over the length and breadth of the land?

It is not, then, a question of time. It is a question also of consequences—here or there—now or then—sooner or later—for us, in a less difficult state of things, or for our children in a more difficult state of things, or for us, in an earlier stage of the disease, or for them in a later and more hopeless and helpless. "Tis delusive," it is false, "tis fanatical, and will be found fatal, to flatter ourselves with words, crying peace, when in our deeds we are leaguering in a war upon Nature. To put over the day of accumulating retribution to our children, if we can, is not the part of brave men and heroes, but of cowards and traitors. To think the increasing responsibility upon a coming generation, measuring the benefit to ourselves in commercial gains, in dollars and dimes, in back-and-forth bartering and profligacy, is to aggravate in baseness and exasperation the treachery and perfidy.

And what else is there of it? What has made the stir? What are the elements in motion? They are the disturbed parts and parties of a compromise involving the rights of man. They have been moved, agitated, agonized, convulsed, by a single individual, who, whatever may be said of his wisdom or prudence, has wrought conviction deep, all-pervading and abiding, of the sincerity and purity of his devotion to human well-being. Whatever the talk of treason, it is not possible for the intelligent and sane, in their predominant feelings and sentiments, to fix ignominy on him in the halter. They know he was inspired by elevated sentiments; that he conscientiously opposed the wrong, and battled for the right; that the humane man was sacrificed to the inhuman institution. Every thinking being, of value worth inverting in the column of human excellences or merits, knows that precisely what has been alleged against him as a capital crime, has been extolled in others, throughout human history, as the loftiest of virtues. He failed; they succeeded; that's all the difference. Few, if any, have fought against like fearful odds. If he had succeeded, it is difficult to tell who would have been his rival in the temple of fame.

To considerations and convictions like these, sup-pressed, the force and the fusion we have just now had from arousing, bargaining, bribing politicians, under the name of legislators and governors, are genuine and faithful indices. To keep ourselves and each other in countenance—to hold on our course, right or wrong—in this is their plain language. Institutions against men—institutions must be sustained, by fair means or foul, whatever becomes of men—men for institutions, not institutions for men—these are legiti-mate interpretations of their words and their wind.

In the twenty-six toasts read and responded to at Columbus and Cincinnati, and in all the reports of speeches and proceedings, filling so much space in two sheets of the *Commercial*, there is anything but a decent manifestation of many rectitude, and fidelity to equity—human rights—all the paramount interests of mankind. Our compromises first—man afterwards. Maintain our compromises—our bargains, whether equitable or inequitable—our league, which fills our pockets, though with the fruits of fraud, and so our stomachs with oysters and wine—and a fig or a fly for man or his rights.

The "lord of the lash," from the executive chair of Kentucky, appears to have snubbed the snobs some-what as they deserved, telling them that "the people of Kentucky had no disposition" to do, and what "the people of Ohio must not" do. It is presumable there was all proper humility in exercise on the part of the sycophants.

And who are these chivalrous Kentuckians, who have been so obsequiously invited and treated, and who have carried themselves through with such bearing? They are the brave men, whom it took sixty-five to drive away thirty-six non-resistant men, women and children from their homes; and twice sixty-five of whom have not the courage to attack Cassius M. Clay alone and single-handed. Courageous lions these, for whom our jockeys have been providing!

O. S. M.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., Ohio, Jan. 20th.

TO STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

In the report of the annual meeting of the Massa-chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, you are represented as having said that you have been studying the United States Constitution anew; that you have become con-vinced that it is an anti-slavery document; and, hence, that you desire to organize an Anti-Slavery Political Party, to carry out and enforce this interpretation.

To organize an Anti-Slavery Political Party! Are you not aware that such an organization has been or-ganized for years; that it has held its anniversary meetings; that Gerrit Smith stands as the exponent of this organization; and that William Goodell is now editing a paper, *The Principle*, devoted to the inter-ests of such organization? If you were ignorant of these facts, or, if you were desirous of personal ag-grandizement, I could understand your position. If neither of these be true, why not unite at once with the Radical Abolitionists, of which Gerrit Smith and William Goodell (1) are the acknowledged leaders?

EMMETT DENSMORE.

Blooming Valley, Pa.

(1) Mr. Densmore himself needs a little informa-tion—tence would himself Goodell for William Goodell. We have corrected his blunders.—*Ed. L.*

LECTURES BY MISS WATKINS.

MARGARETTA (Ohio), Feb. 9, 1860.

DEAR SIR.—About ten days since, Miss FERRIS ELIAS WATKINS—believed here to be one of the most worthy and efficient anti-slavery lecturers who have visited the western country—made her appearance in our township, greatly to the satisfaction of all ac-quainted with her by reputation or otherwise.

Miss Watkins first lecture here was given one week ago last Tuesday evening, greatly to the edification and entertainment of all the friends of freedom. Our worthy and truly philanthropic citizen, R. H. Rogers, being called to the chair, in a few appropri-ate and timely remarks, introduced her to the audi-ence.

Miss Watkins spoke in the house the following evening, and at several other places during that week. She spoke in Sandusky City, last Monday evening, to an immense audience, with the best effect. She is to speak there again next Monday evening. At all the places where Miss Watkins has spoken, save one, where whiskey and a contemptible ignorance are the ruling elements, there have been thronged audiences, and the most respectful order.

The effect of these lectures upon this part of the country cannot but be most favorable, not only po-litically, but in dispelling this unreasoning and un-reasonable prejudice against the colored people of the country.

At the close of her last lecture in this township, the following preamble and resolutions were unani-mously adopted, and by the request of your readers here, I send them to the *Liberator* for publication:—

Whereas, it is our settled and unalterable opinion, that American Slavery is the complete representative and full embodiment of every crime known to human-ity; that it is truly what John Wesley called it, "the sum of all villainies"; and

Whereas, we are bound, by every consideration of justice, to deny that there can be any law, in the proper sense of the term, for slavery, or any of its constituent crimes; and

Whereas, we acknowledge it to be our duty, as good citizens, as friends of truth and virtue, to act decidedly and efficiently against crime, whether found singly as in the numerous abuses of the day, or col-lectively as in slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That, from the nature of slavery, it is the duty of every friend of morality, virtue, good citizenship and education, to act determinedly and constantly, by every means within the range of con-scientious action, against it, as an impious and bare-faced outrage upon human rights.

Resolved, That all human laws which are valid derive their validity, mediately or immediately, from the laws of nature, or the Divine Law.

Resolved, That these laws are coeval with man-kind, and being dictated by God himself, are, of course, superior in obligation to any others. They are binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; and those human enactments which con-flict with these divine enactments, we affirm are not our rules of action.

Resolved, That, as citizens of Ohio, in obedience to Divine injunction, we shall never allow ourselves to be the passive and menial instruments for the support and perpetuation of an institution which is the hydra-curse of the civilized world.

Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law, and all slave laws, are monuments of despotism; and we firmly resolve, with heart, hand, and sleepless vigi-lance, to work for their eradication.

Resolved, That any institution, or any men or set of men, that in any way favor slavery, show them-selves to be unworthy of the support, respect or con-fidence of any friend of freedom.

Resolved, That, in the light of the foregoing prin-ciples, it is with feelings of deep regret and utter dis-gust that we think of our Governor, Ex-Governor, and Legislature, welcoming to our noble State House, and to the free soil of Ohio, the Governors and Leg-islators of the most of the States of this Union, which, in the most loathsome manner, are continually practicing all the abuses of slavery, and striving for its exten-sion.

Resolved, That it is our sincere wish that the great Republican party, instead of following and seconding this unwise movement of some of its leaders, may pre-emptively and denounce this not only unwise, but pre-emptive effort to identify the freedom of Ohio in reciprocal sympathy with the minions and myrmidons of slavery—men that live by selling babies, and revel in their debauchery at the expense of innocence and virtue.

Resolved, That it is with feelings of the deepest respect and gratitude, that we regard this timely visit of Miss Watkins to our township, to tell us of the wrongs of the slave, and to increase our zeal and deter-mination to act vigorously and decidedly our part in the truly "irrepressible conflict" between Freedom and Slavery.

T. R. DAVIS, Secretary.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MARIUS R. ROBINSON.

SALAM, (Ohio), Feb. 9, 1860.

MY DEAR MR. MAY.—I arrived at home, with my family, last evening, and am most happy indeed to be here, after almost a five months' absence. I am also quite pleased with the prospect of again working in Ohio, and especially to have the co-operation of Mr. GRIFFITH, who will well serve the cause. Our friends, whom I have met since my return, all con-cur in saying that, not only is there a great need of anti-slavery labor, but there is also an open door, far beyond the rest. But for the national debacle of a Presidential election, just before us, I should expect to see the people of the Northern States make most rapid progress in anti-slavery education, during the coming season.

My New York experiences have been more agree-able than I anticipated. I have met only kindness from the friends. I have had most earnest invitations to return to most of the places I have visited. I speak now of those I visited alone. I left, with invitations to many new points, so that, in some re-spects, I was in better condition to prosecute the work in New York when I left, than ever before. My greatest drawback has been my inability to lecture as frequently as I desired. My health has been in a state greatly to discourage and embarrass me.

THE COLORED AMERICAN HEROES OF HARPER'S FERRY.

Though being authorized to announce that all the participants with Captain John Brown at Harper's Ferry (white and colored) are to be proportionate re-cipients—themselves or dependants—of the funds con-tributed under auspices of the Committee at Tremont Temple, Boston, Nov. 19, 1859, yet, it is well known that individuals and associations throughout the States have felt moved to make special appropriations—some to Mrs. Brown and family, and some through other channels.

The exercises at the Melancon, January 24th, by young colored men and women, originated in a de-sire to respond to the circular, in aid of a Monument to Copeland, Leary and Green, and relieving the wants of the widow of Louis A. Leary, who, it will be remembered, was shot at Harper's Ferry. This effort, though attended with some discouraging cir-cumstances, enabled the forwarding to J. M. Fitch, Esq., Oberlin, Ohio, the sum of fifty dollars—ten of which were assigned for the Monument, the balance, fifty dollars, for Mrs. Leary.

I fear that it is in contemplation, as at early a day as possible, to publish the histories of all the men whose names have been prominently associated with the Harper's Ferry demonstration, and also, through other mediums, to transmit to posterity graphic pre-sentations of those noble souls who showed them-selves worthy companions of their gallant and de-

voted martyr-leader, Captain John Brown. And no higher tribute surely could be awarded them, though the choicest terms of elaborate rhetoric were ex-hausted in the attempt.

A fair proportion from the sales is to be con-tributed in augmentation of the general fund for John Brown, his family, and his associates.

WILLIAM C. NELL.

Boston, Feb., 1860.

'STAND AND DELIVER!'

The business (says the *New York Tribune*) of black-mailing those merchants of this and other Atlantic cities who desire to stand well at the South, is one which profits liberally and opens so rich, that it is inevitable that it will continue to flourish, and increase in number, and not particularly modest in pushing their trade. We are not surprised, therefore—so long as fools and their money will be parted with for the sake of a few dollars—by the busi-ness-like circular, just received by a mercantile house in this city:

SOUTHERN MERCANTILE AND BUSINESS AGENCY.

On Tenth street, between Main and Carr, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. In consequence of the increased and in-creasing hostility between the North and South, which has greatly disturbed the harmonious business relations heretofore existing between the two sections of the country, we, the undersigned, have opened an office for the purpose of attempting to give a right direction to Southern trade, by withdrawing it from our Northern enemies, and placing it in the hands of our friends, which we propose to do by furnishing Southern merchants and business men with such reliable information regarding Northern mercantile houses, as will enable them to trade exclusively with those who are friendly to the South and her institu-tions.

Our books will contain the names of every Northern house ascertained to be worthy of Southern con-fidence; and these names, with the business and lo-cality assigned, will be supplied with a copy, and thereby enable to correct the misapprehensions be-tween the friends and enemies of the South.

Each subscriber will be entitled to, and shall re-ceive, our greatest efforts to extend his business, which he will be supplied with, by private correspondence, by assistance rendered to acceptable travelling Agents, and by the exposition of samples.

Our Rooms are centrally located, and will be open all the time for business purposes, and for the recep-tion of our Northern and Southern friends.

To defray the expenses necessarily incurred in es-tablishing our Agency, and in carrying out its de-signs, we have decided to sell, at a low price, a set of fifty DOLLARS, to be paid at the time of sub-scribing.

WM. P. GILMAN & CO.

Richmond, Va., Jan. 1, 1860.

COMPLEXIONAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Colored citizens of "visible admixture" have rights at the ballot-box. So has decided the United States Supreme Court of Ohio, and that unanimously. They can recover, too, for a violation of those rights, for such is the just decision. Here it is:

COLUMBUS, Feb. 14, 1860.

Alfred J. Anderson v. Thomas Miliken et al. Er-ror to Common Pleas of Butler County.

Chief Justice J. delivered the opinion of the Court. Held:—

1. Persons having mixture of African blood, but a preponderance of white blood, or being more white than black, and being otherwise qualified, were, by the settled construction of the section of the Constitu-tion of 1802, regulating the exercise of the elective franchise, entitled to enjoy the right of an elector.

No change was made in this respect, by the cor-recting section of the Constitution of 1851. The same persons, being otherwise qualified, are not to be excluded on account of color, but are entitled under the present Constitution to vote at all elections.

2. The plaintiff being one of the description pre-scribed by the Constitution, and being a citizen of African blood, and his vote having been refused for that reason only, at the election of 1856 for electors of President and Vice President of the United States, the judges of the election, against whom he brought an action for such refusal, are liable.

Held, That he was entitled to recover for the viola-tion of a right conferred by the Constitution.

The decision was unanimous.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

U. S. SENATE, Feb. 21st.

Mr. Mason, from the Harper's Ferry Committee, reported a resolution that the Sergeant-at-Arms be instructed to bring Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York, before the bar of the Senate to answer for contempt for refusing to come here and testify before the com-mittee on kidnapping.

Mr. Hale said that this was a dangerous precedent. There was no v. rrant for it in the Constitution. Powers not expressly delegated to the Federal Gov-ernment were reserved to the States. This power could not be exercised by the Senate. In an ex-ception of the Constitution. He would ask for the vote and nays in the passage of the resolution.

Mr. Pugh said he had arrived at the conclusion that the Senate has no power to summon any witness from beyond the District of Columbia.

Mr. Collamer thought the Senate had the same power as a court to compel the attendance of wit-nesses.

Mr. Hale said he must differ from the gentleman from Vermont. He seemed to think they had all the power possessed by the British Parliament. Ours was a government of limited powers. The Senate could not sit as a court with plenary powers.

The resolution was adopted, by yeas 12, nays 12.

The noes were Messrs. Brigham, Chester, Clark, Durkee, Hale, Hamlin, Pugh, Sumner, Toombs, Wade, Wilkinson and Wilson.

There was a question as to whether it was proper to call it up on Wednesday, the 29th inst., when he will express his views upon the subject. This ar-rangement will satisfy the numerous equities which have been made as to whether it should be made a speech.

In the U. S. House of Representatives, Mr. Lovejoy (Rep. Ill.) asked leave to introduce a preamble and resolution reciting the rights and privileges of citizens of the several States under the Constitution.

Whereas it is alleged that responsible parties, that citizens of some of the States going into other States on business, such as the collection of debts, teaching, and other like lawful business, have been personally treated with indignity and violence, and driven from their property for the reason that they are by birth-citizens of the United States, and have been treated in this manner, and without allegation of crime; and whereas, an alleged practice, similar to the European passport system, is springing up—therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to inquire into the above-recited facts, and whether any further legislation is necessary to give effect to the said provision of the Constitution; and that the Committee be empowered to send for persons and papers.

Mr. Lovejoy demanded a vote on the passage of the resolution. Objections were made.

From the *New York Journal of Commerce*.

HAZLETT AND STEVENS.

Mr. EDGEMOND—Permit me, through your conserva-tive press, to make an appeal to the humanity of the Legislature of Virginia, as in their hands now rests the fate of Hazlett and Stevens. In an ordinary case the proper course to pursue would be to petition the Legislature to commute the impending sentence of these men, but, unfortunately, such bitter sentiments have been engendered by this case, that the petition from the North would not be regarded with much respect, but, it is apprehended, the more numerous the peti-tioners, the more likely would be the feeling towards these misguided prisoners.

The community, here and in Europe, would regard the execution of these men with horror; besides, the sacrifice is useless, and can promote no salutary end. After the calumnious misrepresentations of the Legis-lature in Coppick's case, and the many hearts so need-lessly desolated by his and Cook's death, something to man the world that Virginia is neither impious nor vindictive. Exasperation—party spirit—po-litical capital, have caused mischief enough; it is now time reason, humanity, Christianity, and even a spirit of magnanimity displayed by the authorities of Vir-ginia—that having vindicated the laws and honor of the State, they can now stay their hand, and cease to carry misery and wretchedness to the heartstrings of many families, and distress to the community by any further capital executions.

No other course than seems open, but a public ap-peal to the humanity of the Legislature of Virginia, to interpose its authority and stop the further effusion of blood, the further needless sacrifice of life, and to assure themselves that all parties out of the immediate sphere of Southern party spirit would regard the ex-ecution of these men with undisguised horror, in which vindictive cruelty assumes the mask of vindicating the outraged honor of the State.

B.

CHARLESTON, Va., Feb. 19. Stevens and Haz-lett, the late victims of the John Brown raid, are kept in the closest confinement. Stevens says he feels more cheerful and resigned than he ever ex-pected to, and he remarked yesterday that the con-sciousness of suffering in a good cause is sufficient consolation. Hazlett is very low spirited, and de-clares he would infinitely prefer the wilds of Kansas to his present position.

THE JOHN BROWN MEMORIAL SERVICES—SCENES IN A HAYTI CATHEDRAL.

On Friday, January 20th, the grand solemn service in memory of the late Captain John Brown, took place at the Cathedral. Although the ceremony did not bear the official character, President Giffard, with his wife and chil-dren, was present.

During the day the flags were all kept at half-mast, and the houses hung with black in the city.

The church was draped in mourning, and in the middle of the nave was erected a cenotaph, covered with crape, and illuminated with lighted wax tapers. The upper part was covered with white drapery, on which were depicted a pen, a sword, and a Bible, with the inscription:—

A JOHN BROWN, MARTYR TO CAUSE DES NOIRS.

The services were celebrated with unusual religious pomp. Abbé Moussu, an African, officiated at the high altar. M. M. V. de la Roche, a Frenchman, pronounced from the pulpit eulogies of John Brown.

In the afternoon, a grand procession was made to the end of the city to a place known as the "Martyr's Cross," where further religious ceremonies took place. The principal citizens of Port-au-Prince, and a number of wear mourning badges for three days. The *All-re-view of Commerce*, of Jan. 28th, thus speaks of the all-absorbing subject:—

"The death of John Brown is a crime of humanity—a bloody defiance against civilization and God. It is, moreover, a political fault of the American Gov-ernment. Who can foresee the results of this immolation? Who can tell what will come to the United States, and especially to the Carolinas and Virginia, who shed this generous blood, notwithstanding all di-vine laws, the tears of a wife, and the cries of all Europe for mercy?

For us Haytians, we do not wish to return evil for evil, and we hope that the blood of this glorious martyr will not be shed against his executioners. We pray God to open their eyes and soften their hearts; and while waiting the happy day of the regeneration of our enslaved brethren, let us raise in our hearts our altar to John Brown, the immortal benefactor of his race, the holy victim of our cause, and let us adopt as our sister and friend his worthy and unfortunate widow.

Of all the champions of the holy war against the slave color, and the infamous doctrine of the subjugation of one part of the human race to another, John Brown is the most illustrious and most unfortunate. Henceforth, greater than other phil-anthropists, superior to Wilberforce, his sacred name will be invoked with a holy respect, worthy of one who has given his life for the regeneration of the oppressed of mankind."

The country was quiet, and the popularity of Pres-ident Giffard continued unabated.

HOW THEY DISOBEYED THE UNION. The South Carolina Legislature lately sent out a parcel of re-solutions inviting each of the other Southern States to join in a Disunion Conference.

When they reached Texas, the Legislature eyed them suspiciously. Money being scarce, the Texas had too much trouble getting into the Union to be in a hurry to get out of it. And they were sum-marily laid under the table.

When they reached Virginia, there was a long de-lay. The Legislature finally agreed to a Disunion Conference, but a Disunion Conference would have no power to dissolve the Union, and if it had, that was not what they wanted. So the resolutions were not considered.

When they reached Maryland, the whole Legisla-ture rose up, with two exceptions, to indignantly spurn them as an invitation to treason, which message goes back to South Carolina, with their complements.

Gold comfort for fire-enters, this!—*Albany Evening Journal*.

A KIDNAPER. A miserable apology for a man, answering the name of Curtis, was arrested, two or three days ago, in Iowa City, upon suspicion of being engaged in kidnapping. He had in his company two free colored girls, whom it was satisfactorily proved he intended to convey to Missouri, and sell into slavery. He was taken on board a steamer to answer the charge, and he was taken to the State House, where he was held for the rights of the blacks, either bond or free, have to his rescue, and will undoubtedly endeavor to shield him from the punishment so eminently his due. The attempt at kidnapping is becoming common at the West.—*New York Post*.

THE FREE NEGRO BILL DEFEATED IN MISSISSIPPI. We look for the explanation of the defeat of the free negro bill, which passed the Mississippi House of Representatives, was defeated in the Senate. Gov. Pettis has appointed Peter B. Stark commis-sioner to Virginia, in pursuance of resolutions on Federal Relations adopted by the Legislature.

GOV. ELLIS, of North Carolina, having replied to the Secretary of War for 2,000 long-range rifles, with bayonets attached, the reply was that North Carolina had already received her quota, but that she was not on hand to answer the charge. The United States arsenal, on the Department being informed of the number and the character of the al-terations desired.

MR. A. B. ERNST, an old and well-known citi-zen of Cincinnati, died on the 13th inst. He came to Cincinnati in 1808, was a strong anti-slavery man, and was active in the efforts of the Western Society. His beautiful homestead was known as Spring Garden.

A man by the name of Nuckols, living near Peñar Mill, Amherst Co., Va., was taken to a pond on Thursday last week, by a party of citizens, and released in consequence of his being unable to speak English. He afterwards procured a warrant for the arrest of the parties who indicted this summary punishment on him; but, instead of the warrant being executed, the magistrate who issued it narrowly es-aped. There is neither a charge of crime, nor a law where there is slavery. Virginia means to make that fact evident.

JOSE WHEELER, formerly Surveyor of Guilford county, N. C., has been arrested for circulating fifty copies of *Hepler's* book. Several persons of Kan-sas, who were in the same State, have been arrested for the like offence.

GOV. WISE, in his late speech at Richmond, referring to the Harper's Ferry affair, used the fol-lowing expression:—

"Rubies would not win me to tell all the facts of the raid of John Brown. I will not tell to the world either all the facts in my possession, or all my opin-ions on that tragedy."

He assigns as his reason the danger of creating fur-ther troubles between the North and South. Stuff!

Mr. Buchanan has done a humane deed, for which let him have due credit. A colored man har-bored and concealed his own son, a slave, for which he was thrown into prison until he could pay a fine of \$200. A statement of the case showed it to be one of peculiar cruelty, and the President at once pardoned him.

A person by the name of Frederick Southgate Brown has petitioned the Louisiana legislature to allow him and his family to change their names. The reason given for the request is, that there is an un-lucky stigma attached to the name of "Brown" con-sequent upon the actions of "Old John" at Harper's Ferry. (*Green, Scarlet or Black* would be a suitable substitute in this case.)

NORFOLK, Feb. 14. A destructive fire has taken place at Elizabeth City, N. C. Forty houses were burnt, involving loss to Messrs. Watkins, Cobb, Pool, Wheeler, and others. Many families are homeless, and without means of support. Insurance only par-tially relieved the loss. The fire was the work of an incendiary, and caused great excitement.

A large fire took place Saturday night in Mer-chants' Row, Boston, resulting in the destruction of property to the value of about \$60,000. The saddest part of the affair is the loss of human life. Charles Carter, of Warren Hook and Ladder Company, and Charles E. Dunton, of Washington Hose Company, were both instantly killed by the falling of a brick wall. They were both married men, and leave fam-ilies. The widow of Mr. Dunton is in a peculiarly delicate condition.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

A young Friend in Pennsylvania, 1 00

George Jackson, Boston, donation, 5 00

Collections by Susan B. Anthony:

At Lockport Convention, N. Y., \$14 36

Buffalo " " 25 61

Auburn " " 35 44

New York " " 47 01

Syracuse " " 13 23

Poughkeepsie " " 31 59

Hudson " " 22 50

Troy " " 11 00

Easton " " 11 64

Albany " " 72 11

Collections by Marius R. Robinson:

At Fairfield, N. Y., 2 00

Brackett's Bridge, N. Y., 2 34

For Tract Fund.

Thomas Martin, West Boylston, Mass., 0 50

Rev. John B. Wright, Wayland, 2 00

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

Boston, Feb. 20, 1860.

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION.

PARKER PILLBURY, AARON M. POWELL, and SU-SAN B. ANTHONY commenced a series of Anti-Slavery Conventions in the State of New York on Thursday, the 23d inst.

Next week they are to address Conventions at Jordan and Wedport.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mas-sachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-lows:—

Haverhill, Friday evening, Feb. 24.

FREDERICK BROWN.

Brother of the late Captain John Brown, accom-panied by CHARLES LEROX REMOND, will visit the following places, and address audiences therein on the subject of Slavery:—

Worcester, Friday evening, February 24.

Worcester, Saturday " " 25.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in Glen's Hall, at East Attleboro', THIS (Friday) EVENING, Feb. 24, on American Slavery—com-mencing at 7 3/4 o'clock.

Mr. Garrison will also lecture twice on Sunday next, Feb. 26, in the Rev. Mr. Babcock's church, at South Norwalk.

SOUTH SCITUATE.—ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in South Scituate, on Sunday next, 26th. For particulars, see local notices.

PAXTON.—SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and STEPHEN S. FOSTER, will speak on American Slavery, in Paxton, on Sunday next, 26th inst.

DIED.—In this city, Jan. 6th, Mrs. CATHERINE BOSTON, aged 116 years. Many years since, this worthy colored woman came from Reading, Mass., to this city, where old and young have been in the habit of addressing her as Grandmother Boston.

Feb. 14th, Mrs. ELIZA B. BERRY, aged 63.

At Bridgewater, Mass., Feb. 8th, BETSEY FRANKS, formerly of Portsmouth, N. H., aged 76.

In New York, Feb. 28th, Rev. GEORGE GARNETT, aged 73. This venerable minister was uncle to the Rev. H. H. Garnet, and had been in the ministry 60 years. He died, as he lived, an upright man, a true gentleman, and a humble and devoted Christian.

30th THOUSAND NOW READY!

The only Genuine and Reliable Biography, au-thorized by, and for the Benefit of the Family.

LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN BROWN, BY JAMES REDPATH. With an Auto-Biography of his Childhood and Youth.

In one elegant volume of 408 pages, printed on superb paper, and handsomely bound in gilt edges. Fully illustrated, and embellished with A MAGNIFICENT STEEL ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF THE GLORIOUS OLD MAN, by the best artist in America, from a daguerotype, entirely different from the photographs, and being the only authentic likeness of "HILLARYBROOK" and "TATUM" which has yet appeared.

At the extremely Low Price of One Dollar.

Comprising an account of his early life in youth and manhood up to the period of his going to "Mass." together with an intensely interesting narra-tive of his career in that Territory, giving authentic accounts of his famous battles, with all the details of his last attempt to liberate slaves at Harper's Ferry, Va., including his entire prison correspondence, and the PRIVATE LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY, NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED. Also, an ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE, BY CAPT. BROWN HIMSELF.

This important document has not, and will not, ap-pear in the public press, as it is the desire of the friends who contribute that it should appear exclu-sively in our Publication, FOR THE BENEFIT OF HIS FAMILY, and any reprinting of it will be prosecuted as an infringement of copyright. Of the autobio-graphy it is sufficient to say that nothing of the kind, since the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN, has been published, which is at once so characteris-tic and so interesting.

A large per centage on every copy sold is secured by contract to the family of Capt. John Brown, and this work is published under their sanction and ap-proval, as may be seen by the following letters:—

NORTH ELBA, (N. Y.) JANUARY, 1860.

We, the undersigned, members of the family, and relatives of the late Captain John Brown, desire to express our approval and endorsement of the Bio-graphy of our honored and revered relative, written by James Redpath, and recently published by Thayer & Eldridge, of Boston, Mass. We think the work the best that can be produced on the subject at the present time, and in all matters of fact it is essentially correct, while it is written with an enthusiasm and eloquence which we thoroughly ap-preciate and admire.

The Publishers have issued the work in a style which recommends itself to all lovers of a handsome book, in regard to engraving, paper, printing and binding; and the fitting tribute of John Brown to his grave and preserve a memorial of his life and deeds will do well to provide themselves with a copy of this publication.

MARY A. BROWN, ANNIE BROWN, SALMON BROWN, MARTHA BROWN, ISABELL BROWN, ABRIE C. BROWN, HENRY THOMPSON, SARAH BROWN.

THAYER & ELDRIDGE, PUBLISHERS, 114 and 116, Washington street, Boston, Feb. 24.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champlam and Hair-Dyeing.

MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam Cam-TRAUX) would inform her kind and liberal pat-rons and the public, that she has removed to 323 Washington st., and 20 West st.; where will be found her Restorative, the most celebrated in the world, as it prevents hair from turning gray, and produces new in all diseases of the scalp. She stands second to none in Hair-Dyeing and Champlam.

Ladies waited on at their residences, either in or out of town.

Hair dressed in the latest style. She can refer to the first people in the cities of Boston, Providence, Worcester, and elsewhere. Come and try for your-selves.

Feb. 24.

The Thinker;

BEING the 6th volume of the "GREAT HARMONY," BY A. J. Davis, is just published and ready for delivery. Price One Dollar. Single copies sent by mail, postage free, on receipt of the price. The usual discount on wholesale prices.

Address BELA MARSH, 14 Bromfield street, Boston, Dec. 16.

IT IS NOT A DYE.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.

The only preparation that has a EUROPEAN REPUTATION. Warranted not to contain deleterious substances.

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distin-guished and wealthy persons, who have pre-viously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

'IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative?'

We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit from it.

'Persons personally known to us have come volun-tarily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became known in St. Louis.'

St. Louis Presbyterian.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE has given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freedom from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet.

Chas. W. Wines and Chas. A. Adams, Boston, Mass.

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is worthy of confidence.'

Philadelphia Christian Chronicle.

'Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used.'

N. Y. Evangelist.

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN's as the Hair Restorer.'

N. Y. Independent.

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORATIVE has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.'

Michigan Christian Herald.

Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

Knoxville Presbyterian Witness.

'There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Advocate, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestioned standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer.'

Buffalo Christian Advocate.

Another objection to dyes is the unlike-like color and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL YOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effect-ual and not destroy the hair. It is demonstrated that Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer will do this.

U. S. Journal.

In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is re-freshing to come across that which is what it rep-resents to be. A really excellent article is Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer. As an as-sistant to nature, it is of great service, and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmless, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calcu-lated to facilitate the natural growth of hair.

Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston.

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any dye, and is re-sorted to for restoring and beautifying the hair, re-vealing none of the burning qualities of a DYE.

Philadelphia Mercury.

There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprie-tor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is destined to become ap-propriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.'

Newark Register.

We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN'S World's Hair Restorer' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has effected, amply demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreci-ated.'

Babson Register.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. The most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remark-able.'

Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

'From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN'S World's Hair Restorer' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recom-mended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the no-tice and use of those of our readers who need a re-medial agent of this character.'

St. Louis Ledger.

'Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.—As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we in-ferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation the spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen out. Her friend read the paper, and acquainted herself with the various re-medies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, the entire hair again grew, and she was, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was con-firmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.'

Providence Daily Tribune.

'Among the very few preparations that we deem de-serving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restor-er.' It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its ex-celence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respect-able persons.'

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is the best preparation extant for the various causes im-pedent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigor-ating, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully palmed off in num-erous instances, upon the public eye.

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

'This preparation is superior to any heretofore pro-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, caustic powers of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glossy appearance almost instantaneously. The licitor is easily applied, and will not stain the finest linen. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied ac-cording to the directions.' Mercury, Philadelphia.

'We are satisfied that the statements made in ad-vertisement of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER are correct.'

Boston Olive Branch.

'Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.'

Norfolk Argus.

'Those unsuccessful if other articles can try this with success.'

Boston Transcript.

It is just what it purports to be.

Cleveland Leader.

'We might swell this list, but if not convinced, TRY IT.'

We export these preparations to Europe even, and to all the other parts of the world, as well as in the United States.

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principal wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or Canada.

DEPOT, 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. where address all letters and inquiries.

'Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this, on which they make a good profit. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine is signed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Beware of coun-terfeits.'

See next issue of this Paper for more information, we send to Depot for Circulars.

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

A young Friend in Pennsylvania, 1 00

George Jackson, Boston, donation, 5 00

Collections by Susan B. Anthony:

At Lockport Convention, N. Y., \$14 36

Buffalo " " 25 61

Auburn " " 35 44

New York " " 47 01

Syracuse " " 13 23

Poughkeepsie " " 31 59

Hudson " " 22 50

Troy " "

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE Saxon HEART.

The Saxon heart beats not in vain;
Like stately streams upon their course,
The tide swells on within the soul,
O'erpowering every adverse force.

The brave, good heart, that takes its stand,
Resisting wrong, abhorring shame,
Born like a prince to take command,
Regardless still of praise or blame.

The matchless heart in bold empire,
The conquering heart, the heart so strong,
The heart of heroes, brave or wise,
The heart that always rights the wrong.

The race that erst in forests dwelt,
The deadly arrow swiftly sped,
Hath dropt the winged shaft and spear,
And wields the winged thought instead.

The race that once went bravely forth,
To ward the wild war in his den,
Now meets the tyrant in his wrath,
And boldly claims the rights of men.

As in those Saxon wilds of old,
The bowstring echoed far and wide,
The words of truth ring out like gold,
The same old spirit sanctified.

New Bedford.

For the Liberator.

BY AND BY.

It is coming, by and by,
That blest day when we shall see,
When our joyous song shall be,
"We are free—we are free!"

It is coming, by and by,
For we may not rest till then;
Not till our proud banner wave
O'er a land where breathes no slave.

Here on earth we may not stay
Till shall dawn that welcome day;
Heavenly joys we then may share,
But we sure shall know it there.

When we cast aside this dress,
That doth now our spirits press,
Must we cease to labor then
For our suffering fellow-men?

Nay, we'll toil till all shall be
Both in mind and body free;
Till that day for which we sigh,
Which is coming by and by.

And when in our native land,
Not a single slave shall stand,
Whether here or whether there,
The rejoicing we shall share.

It is coming, by and by,
Hastened on by you and I;
Though but little we can do,
Small the seed whence you tree grow.

So in earnest deeds we'll pray
For the coming of that day:
Such prayers reach the ear on high—
God will answer, by and by.

Sherborn, Jan. 30, 1860. E. D. MORSE.

From the Worcester Spy.

"DE PROFUNDIS."

Out of the depths, O Lord! to thee we cry!
The bitter waves overwhelm us in their might!
Prostrate before thy great white throne we lie,
Groping for Thee through all the blinding night!

We hear the steps of heroes treading slow
The Via-dolorosa, while their Cross
Grates on the dreary way with sound of woe,
Filling the soul with sense of bitter loss.

How long, O Lord—how long shall dismal night
Brood o'er the world with cloud of deadly wrong?
Sin and foul darkness quench the blessed light
Of thy fair earth—how long, O Lord—how long?

How long, O Lord—how long shall wretched men
Dig heroes' graves, and send Thy saints to death?
Oh, let them flee before Thy Truth, as when
The storm-clouds vanish at the whirlwind's breath!

Fool! know'st thou not, that, in earth's furrow dark,
The precious seed of life is sown,
To die, that it may quicken? Who shall mark
The ripened corn until the summer's dawn?

The early and the latter rain must fall,
That is of blood—and this is always tears,
Upon the seeds before the harvest-call!
The sharp, bright blade heralds the golden ears!

On! on to death! The faithful hour draws near!
The martyr's crown of thorns is almost won!
Death seals once more a triumph, and men's fear
Proclaims that still on earth God's will is done.

Man's wrath shall praise Him! Now His power ap-
pears,
When Sin plows deep, and sows the bloody seed!
We water the broad furrow with our tears,
And, lo! the harvest is a fusion freed!

We wait Thee, Lord, as watchers wait the day!
We know thee in redemption in Thy hand!
And pleasurable mercy still attends Thy way;
For, didst Thou mark our sins, oh, who should stand!

Worcester, Nov. 29, 1859.

100 DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, Tuesday, December 27th, 1859, a mulatto MAN, calling himself Lewis Lee, 28 or 30 years of age, about five feet high, spare, but well built, active, quick in motion and speech, and very polite in his manners. Very stout mulatto, straight sandy hair, and light grey eyes. I will give the above reward for his apprehension and return, or if lodged in jail so that I get him again.

Jan. 8, 1860. N. B. WATKINS.

From the Northern Independent.

REPLY.

LEWIS LEE to N. B. WATKINS.

Ye have stolen all else from the African man,
But the color God gave him to wear;
The South is now stealing that as fast as it can,
Infusing light color and hair.

If your grandiose stole mine on the African coast,
And stole him to make him his slave,
The right that gives me, sir, to you, is, at most,
But the right of the robber and knave.

Or, if my father was your grandfather's son,
And your brother enslaved his half brother,
Am I made your slave by the violence done
To the chastity of my grandmother?

Can one-fourth of my blood a slave make of me—
One your Courts bind you not to respect?
Still, three-fourths of my blood declare I am free,
And your claims to my service reject.

For as oft as one pound of my flesh you can claim,
My right to three pounds is far better,
Just as good as your right to your body or name,
A God-given right to the letter.

Now, Shylock, if you your one pound can get
Without a drop of my blood, nor give pain,
Your slave code would allow you to take it, and yet
My own right to myself I maintain.

You have advertised me; let me advertise you,
That "JEHOVAH" no attribute hath,
"Can stand with oppressors"; His justice is due,
And man-stealers inherit his wrath.

Underground R. R., Jan. 22, 1860.

THE LIBERATOR.

LETTER TO REV. DR. BETHUNE.

PERMITS, (Mass.) Jan. 2, 1860.

REV. SIR: In common with the public generally, I have perused the report of the speech delivered by you at the Union meeting held recently in your city, and I feel impelled by a sense of duty to trouble you with a few observations upon such an extraordinary performance. Extraordinary I deem it, not from its force of argument or felicity of method, but solely in view of the truculent tone in which you dispose of the rights and interests of millions of our common race, and the glaring perversion of truth with which it abounds. I have no apology to make for addressing you in a public manner, or for the plainness of speech which I shall endeavor to cultivate.

I do not wish to make your presence at a political meeting matter of reproach, although it seems scarcely consistent with your frequent proof of others who take the same liberty, though in a different direction. Your attempt to take that occasion out of the category of political meetings is simply absurd. You are too shrewd to have anticipated from the antecedents of that meeting any thing different from what actually chanced—a meeting, to wit, of the most intensely party character; one which, while denouncing in unmeasured terms the errors of the North generally, and the Republican party in especial, should be deaf, dumb and blind concerning the ceaseless aggressions of Slavery.

The evident complacency with which you regarded the whole affair, including the boldly blasphemous attack of Mr. O'Connor upon the fundamental principles of religion, and the nauseous cant in which John A. Dix paraded his Judaic apostasy, clearly prove that the meeting and your expectations of it were entirely at one with each other. I submit, Sir, that had you not been well assured that it was a gathering whose end and aim were to serve the interests of Slavery, and to aid and comfort the dominant party in their base subservience to its will, you would, when the character of the meeting stood revealed, have fled from the place, even as Lot fled out of Sodom.

With some ostentation, you announced yourself as belonging to a "higher service," as a "simple follower of Jesus," &c. Oh! Sir, would not the recollection of the cross to which that service leads, inspire you with doubts of the propriety of a service applauded by lips blatant with blasphemy and rildabry? Apostrophizing the Union, you exclaimed, in mock-heroic style, "If the Union is to perish, may I die first!" It is charitable to suppose that this was uttered thoughtlessly, just as adjurations of a more offensive type frequently are, and were on that very occasion; but, nevertheless, think of it a moment seriously. Have you reflected properly what a fearful thing it is thus to link your fate with that of a government, against whose life the conscious or unconscious prayers of four millions of human beings are continually ascending to God? You may prize this Union as the best of governments for you; but who gave you the right to have a good government, or even any government at all, at the expense of these hapless millions?

Build your political fabric as perfect as you can; but remember that it can be rightfully built only at your own expense. "Woe to him that buildeth his chambers with iniquity, and taketh his neighbor's service without wages!" Vain man! has your idolatrous veneration for the Union darkened your understanding to the extent of deluding you with the fancy that it is any account in the sight of God, except as it conforms to the principles of his righteous rule? Go, then, and meditate over the ruins of Egypt, Tyre, Judah, Babylon and Rome, and with your Bible open before you, explore the mystery of their fate. Why, Sir, the whole coast of time, from Adam until now, is strewn with the wrecks of nations as great and mighty as our own, but in whom were found oppression and cruelty, and whom God has destroyed with all these in the day of judgment than for this proud and guilty land?

You attempt to justify your presence at the meeting by saying, "When the pulpit is desecrated by the wildest fanaticism, it is high time to come forward." You were somewhat indefinite here, but I suppose you refer to the action of those few clergymen who believe that slavery is, in truth, "the sum of all villainies," and who write and teach accordingly.

I have an impression that I have heard or read that you are not of those who justify slavery *per se*. If, however, I do you injustice in this, I am open to correction. But, assuming that you do not recognize the divine right of Slavery, I would inquire whether some of the views presented at your meeting might not be fully described as the wildest possible fanaticism? and, if so, why you suffered it to pass without rebuke? Is your mission against fanaticism wholly occupied with those who err on the side of humanity? Or is your silence on this head attributable to the fact that the fanaticism you attack is that of the unpopular and intensely hated?

If I am correct in my apprehension of your status on the Slavery question, let me entreat you to review the address of Mr. Charles O'Connor, and answer to your conscience as you must answer to God, whether in the wide realm of error and criminal speculation, you could select any thing so thoroughly deserving of stern and indignant reprobation? Grasp, I pray you, a few of the salient features of that speech, and condense into essence the meaning hidden under its smooth verbiage, and say whether from all that is cruel and mean in the literature of depravity, any thing can be found so redolent of the philosophy and feelings of hell! The speaker said, "The negro is weak compared with the white, therefore enslave him—helpless, therefore trample him in the dust—ignorant, therefore keep him so!" Is anything needier beyond the simple statement of such a doctrine to expose its wickedness? Why, Sir, not even from the depraved throng who crowd the arena where human brutes exert their skill in mauling each other's persons, could you obtain an approval of such a doctrine when plainly stated. And yet you listened to all this, and uttered no word of condemnation. The only fanaticism visible to you was that of over-earnestness in a cause which angels might be proud to advocate—the cause of those who, more emphatically than any other portion of the race, are the poor, whom there are none to help. And yet, in justice to Mr. O'Connor, I must say, in passing, that his address was one of the few redeeming features of the occasion. It had the rare merit of being frank, straightforward, and self-consistent; and, compared with the namby-pamby of the other speakers, tending no whit more to be despised both of God and man, it might really be considered a manly utterance.

I have said that Mr. O'Connor's speech was one of the meeting's redeeming features. The other was the letter of Ex-President Fillmore. That letter, with much that is objectionable, contains some plain truths, forcibly uttered, and in the right time and place. And I think that if you and your comrades had detected the bitter irony which (whether intended or not) lurked beneath the sentence in which Mr. Fillmore declares that "the occasion of your meeting is to be found in the desperate attempt made to force slavery into Kansas through the repeal of the Missouri Compromise," you would have closed your face incontinently, and gone to your homes with the fixed resolution that, in all coming time, Slavery should be left to eat the fruit of her own waywardness, and drain to the dregs the bitter cup she has so often pressed upon us.

While you, Sir, thus sat and consented with men-stealers, those who, from penury of room, could not obtain admission to the deleterious entertainment within, amused themselves with hooting and yelling

around the burning effigy of a brother clergyman! Perhaps it was from this exhilarating spectacle that you drew the inspiration to attack his fanaticism!

Think of it!—a clergyman of brilliant talents and spotless reputation, the life-long advocate of unpopular reforms, a man not only your superior, but superior even to your highest conception of yourself, was burned in effigy, yourself present, and offering no word of reproof.

But, it is the next paragraph of your speech that most particularly deserves attention. You therein say, that "when men are canonized with no better reason than that they have shown the pluck of a bull-dog with the ferocity of a tiger, it is high time to come forward." This, then, is Dr. Bethune's conception of John Brown! I hardly know how to grapple with the statement, it is so utterly incongruous, so entirely unsupported by evidence; one knows not where to begin or end. The observation has at least one merit, that of originality. To you must be ascribed the credit of having uttered the most opprobrious sentiment that has been spoken concerning the hero of Harper's Ferry. It would be impossible, I think, from all that has been written or spoken, to select anything evincing more malignity, or a more complete perversion of facts. I know not what significance you may attach to the phrase, "pluck of a bull-dog," but it seems to me exceedingly ill-chosen to describe the cool, thoughtful, unflinching courage of the man whom Governor Wise affirmed to be the "bravest man he ever saw." But, "ferocity"—where in all that relates to John Brown is to be found the ferocity which you impute to him? To say of Napoleon, that he exhibited the courage of a game-cock, and the ferocity of a mad-dog, would be quite as felicitous, and less unjust. I do not ask you to listen to the testimony of those who are, as you sneeringly remark, disposed to canonize him. But, let his bitter enemies be heard, and, with one accord, they condemn him from the charge of ferocity. Judged by his foes, he was eminently brave, truthful and humane. Why, Sir, the very nature of his action disproves your assertion, containing, as it did, the elements of the rarest disinterestedness and self-devotion to principle. Let no false issue be attempted here. The point is not the righteousness of his enterprise, but the character of the man. And, tried by the highest standard, his enemies being judges, he is seen to be self-sacrificing beyond any known man of the billion who now people earth. Read the admonition which he gave to his men touching the duty of regarding the lives of others, and see if you can extract from it anything that looks like ferocity. Read the tribute to his character in the letter of Ex-President Fillmore, and reflect how convincing must be the evidence to have extorted such a testimony!

Are you a man of religion, and have not been impressed by the deep and fervid piety which ran through his life? He was a man of God, and more than all, his sublime trust in God, that wavered not while life remained? I could charitably suppose you ignorant of the facts to which I have referred; for the man who is so easily led by the nose as to go to a political meeting without having read the Call which produced it, or without knowing anything about it, except that it contained the word "Union," may well commit even a greater folly. But even this would not leave you blameless. The difference is but small between him who perverts facts, and him who undertakes to unfold their meaning while in ignorance of their nature. Your estimate of John Brown has, together with his deeds, become matter of history, and I arrogate no prescience when I say, that your speech will return to plague its author. John Brown has dragged many into what will prove no enviable immortality, but to none belongs a more conspicuous elevation than yourself. The memory of the Judge who condemned him, and of the Sheriff who fulfilled the doom, may possibly perish from the earth, but History will not forget to remember you! No historian of Charles I. has omitted to chronicle the hag who spat in the face of the unhappy monarch as he passed to the death, whose placid dignity has half redeemed his memory. And even as in the historical procession of the past, we see the figure of the king followed ever by the grinning fury who insulted his last hours, so in the future, inseparably attached to the memory of John Brown, shall be that of the man who, from the shadow of his bloody grave, strove to heap fresh obloquy upon him, and blacken the fame which was the sole inheritance of his children.

There are other topics touched in your speech which I had intended to notice, but the space I have already occupied admonishes me to forbear.

I have, in this communication, been moved by no feelings toward yourself other than those of friendliness and good will. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend."

With sincere wishes for your present and eternal welfare,
I am yours, &c.

WILLIAM WHITING.

Rev. George Bethune, D. D.

PRAYER FOR THE OPPRESSED.

BY ALMIRA KEYMOUR.

Four fundamental and incontrovertible reasons why the abolition of slavery and oppression should be prayed for.

1st. Because I believe firmly in that most sublime of unimpaired Scripture, the Declaration of American Independence,—in its primary and most significant clause,—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Because my whole soul responds to this noble, self-evident truth, I pray for the emancipation from absolute slavery of more than three millions of my fellow-beings in my own land; for emancipation from social and political injury and oppression, resulting from slavery, of more than five millions of my white Southern kindred; for emancipation from the demoralizing and debasing crime of slave-ownership of more than three hundred thousand oppressors of the weak; and for the emancipation of upwards of five hundred millions of acres of our sacred, blood-bought soil from the blighting curse of slave-labor.

These, these prayers should be offered. Every patriot heart should prostrate itself in the dust before the God of Nations, and implore Him that this favored land may no longer be a mocking and a by-word; that this foul blot may be removed from its page; this deadly falsehood from its history of noble facts.

When my spirit dilates with pride and gratitude, as I contemplate the unexampled expansion of my country's territory, I want no longer the soul-sickening reminder, that, notwithstanding the eloquence of orators, the songs of poets, the labors of past and present greatness, on the field and the forum, from the press and the pulpit, more than five hundred millions of acres of this magnificent area are not within the area of Freedom.

When fancy flies with the merchant-fleets of my nation, to the remotest islands of the ocean, as well as every part of the main-lands, I would no longer have the mortifying suggestion arise that ever now comes. The timber, pitch, tar, which go to the construction of those white-winged miracles of speed and accommodation, are products of soil her slave sons and daughters tread in hopelessness, and moisture with their tears. The cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, with which they are so richly laden, and which shall be exchanged for the best treasures of those lands, were planted, nourished, harvested, shipped, with inhuman, crushing labor, by American men and women who shall know no profit of all their toil under sun or stars; who shall never say while living, these hands with which I wrought are mine, or, in dying,

lay me in the little spot I purchased with my hard-earned wages; nay, who shall never say to the recipients of their few imparted pleasures or pains, my husband, my wife! or to the offspring of these con-jugal loves, my children!

Yes, God of homes and families! yes, God of the oppressed and parentless, I pray to Thee for this.

When I boast, proudly but warrantably, of New England's Lowells, Lawrences, Manchesters, Dovers; when I take the distinguished foreigner through these mills, that he may see the extent of our enterprise in this department, and the respectable character of our industrial population, I wish no longer that he may have it in his power, with the cutting courtesy of satire, to reply—Amazing! What quantities of raw material must be annually consumed! The production of your Slave States, is it not?

When I contemplate the marvellous results of our Free-School system; when I eulogize, as I love to, the presence of our Pilgrim Fathers in their establishment, and the increasing munificence of annual appropriation by which they are not merely sustained, but multiplied continually, and immeasurably enhanced in value and elevated in character; when I give my exultant assent to the statement, that no country in the world is in advance of my own in this particular, I want to know that this is true of my whole country; that every American child, as well as emigrants and fugitives from the Old World, has the inestimable privilege of free-school instruction.

To this end I pray, daily, that all Slavery and Oppression may cease in my native land.

2nd. Because I believe in the Great Apostle's statement, for which he had precedent in classic lore, as well as the teachings of the Master—that "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."—I pray for the emancipation of my brethren of the South. That the vilest passions of man in the noble southern nature may no longer be fostered by indulgence; the lust for ease, leading to the lust for power and wealth through unholy channels, and this to that lower lust which proffers all the instincts of the master's being for the sake of merchandise. That these temptations may be removed from him forever, and thus,

First, his mental eye may be cleared, to discern what are his true interests as a citizen and a man of blood. That he may recognize the undeniable truth, that free labor is infinitely more productive than slave labor; that the resources for industry and enterprise with which his section of the country abounds, would be immeasurably increased in value by the employment, in their appropriation and use, of intelligent, well-paid craftsmen; that the soil he tills would yield abundantly greater products, and be constantly enriched and renewed, by subjecting it to the management of men of practical scientific skill, rather than, as now, constantly impoverished and exhausted. That he may discover how his social and political prerogatives would be enhanced, by having in his employ a hundred and fifty men qualified by culture and training each to be a responsible actor in all civil affairs, each the responsible head of a family, instead of, as now, counting ninety votes among the same number of individuals, and bearing upon his shoulders the unshared burden of a hundred and fifty human destinies, with all that appertains to them. And

Second, that his moral eye may be thus cleared to discover his obligations to the wife of his bosom, and the children God has given them; that they may no longer be surrounded by impure and enervating influences, but by such as are calculated to develop the beauty and worth of their nature—the sublime capabilities with which they are endowed; that they may know the comfort, the luxury, of well-ordered homes, and experience the noble refinement and enjoyment of making them so; that they may know the ease of independence in their domestic habits, in place of the fretting bondage to bondmen and bondwomen which is now theirs. And

Third, that his religious sensibilities shall be awakened to a perception of the worth of immortal souls, in whatever form or coloring they are clothed; to a perception of his accountability, in this relation, for his own, the souls of his family, clogged and chained down like his own, the souls of those toiling heathen, crushed in a night of existence beneath the burden he imposes.

Yes; that my thoughts, or reckless, or vainly-striving brother, the master, may be emancipated from these terrible evils, I will pray God with my whole soul. And his enfranchisement shall be that of the millions of non-slaveholders at the South, who, through him, are debarred the privileges that belong to the citizens of a free country, and paralyzed in every enterprise that distinguishes the age, and does honor to the race.

And again: that his other victims, the black slaves of his possession, may be rescued from the loathsome brute lives to which they are sacrificed; the wasting toil whose only comfort is, that it shortens life; the deprivations of culture, progress, and all rational enlightenment; the agonies of separation from kindred, and even kind masters. That my black brethren, a part of the great kindred and the one blood, may be put in possession of some of the invaluable rights of manhood. That my black sisters may know something of the sanctity and reverent reservation of womanhood; some of the holy privileges of human hearts and human intelligences; some of the hopes of those that give certain glimpses of another. That all this may be, I pray night and day to the one Creator, Judge and Father of all, that Slavery may cease, speedily and forever, in this land—a land that leaped from the unknown ocean at the call of his religion, and was planted, by the same mandate, with the seeds of such principles as form the basis of this appeal.

3d. Because I believe in the Ten Commandments, delivered on the mystic Mount to the Jewish Law-giver, I must pray with groanings that cannot be uttered for the abolition of Slavery and Oppression.

"Thou shalt have no other gods before me." . . . For the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

Can the slave on a Southern plantation, taught in secret fear to obey a master as a God, can he or she keep this commandment? Can the master keep it, when nothing receives his heart's homage and determined allegiance but the "peculiar institution," which he drops the hand of God to grasp? And can he, does he, escape the penalty of his disobedience? Do we not see his sin "visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation"? Upon the children? Ay, upon all that comes after him; upon the land he has blighted, as well as the occupants of it.

Listen to the echo of thy speech, O Lord of the slave, in the various relations thy false life make needful to thee, and say whether this command is or can be obeyed? How often, during the one hundred and sixty-eight hours of the coming week will that sacred name be upon thy lips? How often, in pleading prayer or devout thankings—how often in fearful, revolting passion, or from long-indulged, sinful habit?

"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shall thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

What kind of *holiness* is there, can there be, in the observance of a Sabbath amid the toils of a plantation, or the loose arrangements of a household of slaves? If they rest from their labors, it is as the beasts rest. What kind of holiness in the master's recognition of the day through a ritual, if indeed he take his seat in the sanctuary, that must be trimmed and smoothed to his wishes, not reverently, but earnestly addressed to his want?

"Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

Can the African-American honor the father who be-got him for the auction-block and the lash of the overseer—begot her for a life of loathsome pollution or self-slaughter? Can the legitimate children of the doomed race honor father and mother when they never see, except through the vague visions of far-off memories, kept alive by yearning affections? Can the white children of the master honor father and mother who have them as an inheritance, not stores of knowledge and wealth of well-trained natures, not hoards of gold and leagues of terming soil, not mercantile, manufacturing, or agricultural enterprise, but a mass of ignorant, indolent animal existence, in which mind and motive deaden themselves as the degraded body drags itself just above the spent, degraded soil?

"Thou shalt not kill."

White man! American citizen, who callest thyself a Christian! With thy foot upon the black man's breast, thy scourge and crushing burden upon his back, thy polluted and polluting grasp upon the black woman—dost thou not kill? Answer to thy conscience and thy God, in the awful silence of profound introspection—Dost thou not kill?

"Thou shalt not commit adultery."

These stands the command. It is written in the Bible that lies neglected or often read on thy polished table or book-shelves—dost thou see it? Written in the Bible, whose gilded leaves thy purchased preacher turns daintily each Sabbath—has he dared read it to thee? Written, and cannot be erased.

"Thou shalt not steal."

It were a sin by this command to take the coat, or the purse, or the horse, of his fellow-man. What is it to take his ALL? His muscular power, his mental skill, his free agency, his labor, and the fruits of his labor, his leisure and rest, his loves and the offspring of his loves; all makes him fit for this life, all that can prepare him for another. Slaveholder! answer this to thy conscience and thy God—dost thou not steal?

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

And mayest thou punish for imputed crimes and offences, ay, punish with tortures and death, and give the poor wretch no opportunity to defend or vindicate his innocence; no opportunity for appeal, or examination into his cause?

"But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbor?"

And Jesus, answering, said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, as bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, will I repay thee.

Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among thieves? And he said, he that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his neighbor's."

Not even covet, nor earnestly desire, my unjalous Southern brother! Yet thou takest all this without an equivalent, without an asking, even; takest all from thy helpless, patient, powerless neighbor, who can offer no resistance with his strong right arm; for it is manacled; can make no appeal for justice; for the laws of a free, enlightened country, for in the execution of those laws, his rights are not recognized; can turn with no hope of sympathy and redress to the boasted independence and philanthropy of the North; for that stands with dumb white lips before the impotent threat of Tyranny.

O, Thou, who callest this people to be Thy chosen people, in place of those who rejected Thy Son! Who baptizest this nation in its infancy with the Holy Ghost and with fire! O, confirm in its members that early promise of Thy presence, I beseech Thee! Let not justice, mercy and truth be again sacrificed unto death! Let us no longer forget our sacred birthright and blessed adoption by Thee from among the nations! To-day, to-morrow, the question is, Christ or Barabbas! Father of individuals, of nations, of humanity! Parent of justice, mercy and truth, let us choose *justice*!

4th. Because I believe in the eleventh commandment, given through a greater than Moses—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—believe in this with its unmistakable commentary—"Whoever would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"—because I believe in these as the divine, imperative, unconditional guide of our lives and hope of our salvation, my inmost soul pours itself out in prayer for the abolition of slavery and oppression.

Would I subject that soul's eternal welfare to the mad mischiefs of absolute power and unlicensed lust? Then can I calmly see my white Southern neighbor risk his life in like manner. Would I condemn white children that were precious to my heart, to the feeling and vitiating influences of dependence upon inferiors in every act and department of life? Then can I see, without remonstrance, the wives and children of my neighbors thus defrauded of the development and culture which would place them among the noble and gifted of the land.

Could I bend to unrequited toil through all the brazen hours of the long, burning, tropic day—year after year do this—begin life with no better hope than my first peaceful rest, that of the grave, the best I find when his existence of bone and muscle is at an end? Then can I see this indicated by my black neighbor of African descent.

Could I behold my wife torn from my bosom—pained by the unhalloved embraces of one who call himself her master—battered for as a piece of merchandise—sent hundreds of miles from me with my consent or her own, even—her bosom bleed; with the anguish of separation, her body with stripes of the task-master? Could I look on, and this transpiring to one whom I had chosen for one of the daughters of New England? Then will I hold my peace while the warm-hearted, loving daughters of the tropic clime are thus robbed and endangered. Could I sit calm and still in a knowledge that my young children, sons and daughters, who huddled together in a foul enclosure, unit for beating the word of the auctioneer to send them all directions in search of infancy, ignorance, vagabondism, and the deepest darkness of heathenism? Then can I complacently hear, daily, how the innocent and helpless children on Southern savannahs meet their doom.

Would I raise no arm of resistance, offer no word of remonstrance if some power, foreign to the wholeness of our New-England institutions, should spread itself over Massachusetts, crippling her commerce, impeding her manufactures, despoiling her fields, threatening her literary enterprises, stripping her educational privileges, and depriving a native-born white citizen, of all the peculiar rights which

the Declaration of Independence and the National Constitution guarantee to me? Then will I feel no interest and make no effort, by word or vote, on behalf of the millions of oppressed non-slaveholding whites at the South. But if I could not, would not, and endure thus myself, neither must I passively submit to it for these my neighbors—the oppressed and the oppressed—if there be any meaning in the Golden Rule, the Divine Law of Love.

For these reasons, based upon and drawn from principles here presented in the order of their authority, yet parts of one whole, ascending from the highest human wisdom to the highest divine inspiration; for these reasons, so imperative in their nature, and in their obligation upon me and every American man and woman calling himself or herself a Christian, my every devout spirit in the land—the priesthood and laymen of every denomination—to join me in solemn and unintermitted appeals to the God of Nations and of men, the one great Brotherhood of Man, that place men in power, and those who place men in power, that this falsehood on the lips of our country, this ulcer at her heart, this fatal poison in her air, this negation of all her virtues and her value to the present and future as an example to the African Slavery, and its inevitable and ever. God grant it, for His Mercy and His Truth's sake! Amen!

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